

THE LIBERATOR.
IS PUBLISHED
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,
AT THE
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

25c TENS—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance.
Five copies will be sent to one address for ten dollars, if payment be made in advance.
All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (POST PAID), to the General Agent.
Advertisements making less than one square inch, three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1.00.
The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.
The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz.—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELIAS GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Advertisers of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 4.

THE TWENTY-SECOND NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

A brief history of this institution, which is to co-operate for the extinction of slavery until its abolition, by furnishing the American Anti-Slavery Society with means for the promulgation of its principles, may shall be unacceptable to our new and numerous colleagues.

In 1829, GARRISON first felt the indignant swell of heat which prompted him to devote his life to the emancipation of the American slave,—to the redemption of his country from slavery,—to the freedom of the world. In 1831, he established THE LIBERATOR, and in 1832, founded the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. The principles he enunciated were the same then adopted and ever since acted upon by that Society;—the sinfulness of slavery, and the justice and necessity of its immediate abolition, without the extirpation of its victims. The measures adopted were the ones universally employed in America for the furtherance of such undertakings,—to wit, the press and the rostrum both requiring funds.

The leading Managers of this twenty-second Bazaar were among the first to experience this need of money for the instruction of their country on a subject so long kept out of sight by venal statesmen and more venal charlatans, (whose respective constituencies were deeply interested in the continuance of slavery,) that the while existing generation had grown up in ignorance of its duties and responsibilities, and even of the very facts of the case.

It was in 1834 that the first Bazaar was put in operation, in the little hall of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, 46 Washington street, now called Stacy Hall. Miss Child and Mrs. Elias Gray Lorring were the moving and the leading influences, and the proceeds were \$300.

The efforts and example of these beloved friends moved many hearts to come up to their help, whose labors were to cease only with life; and I call to mind the feelings with which I quoted the following lines, I left them farewell at night, after their first day's attendance:

'Speed thee! speed thee!

'Liberty lead thee!

'Many this day shall hearken and heed thee!'

And the prophecy has been fulfilled. The movement has gone on ever since with continually increasing efface.

The next year, 1835, was the year when the women of the Association were mobbed for exercising their right to associate, to publish and to act, like others, after slavery had forbidden it. Vital as was their cause to the honor and welfare of the nation, and as far transcending all other claims and causes as the foundation of an office exceeds in importance the ornaments, hence they failed to perceive it. It was not a prayer-meeting that was mobbed. It was the second annual meeting of the Society, for the transaction of anti-slavery business, and for the promotion of the cause as we judged best; though its having been opened with prayer according to the general custom of anti-slavery meetings, probably led to a misapprehension in some minds of it. Of course, the next Bazaar was a service. It was held at the house of HENRY CHAPMAN, 6 Chauncey place; and I now recall what Garrison then said to the heads of that devoted household,—ever since faithful through all the stress of the times, to the hour that laid them in their honored graves:—'Whatever light may break upon our cause hereafter, we can never forget who they were that stood by it in all hour so dark as this.'

The proceeds of this year's effort were \$600. The next year, 1837, the scene of action was the 'Artist's Gallery,' so called, in Summer street, near the spot now occupied by that munificent and devoted friend of the cause, CHARLES F. HOWEY. It was the only hall that could be obtained, through the terrors and the hatred of the owners of that kind of property; and we owed it to the Free-Thinkers, (*the infidels*, as the community who mobbed us called them,) of Abner Kinney's congregation; and we felt that they came nearer, than that occasion, to the character of Christ, than the churches that proselytized in his name.

This year we raised \$800.

In 1838, the Bazaar was held at the Marlboro' Chapel, now the premises of the Lowell Institute. Up to this time, we had received but little foreign aid—only the donations of our beloved friend Elizabeth Pease, then of Burlington; now, the wife of our esteemed friend Dr. Nichol, of the Observatory, of Glasgow. We raised, however, the sum of \$1100, and over the sum appropriated to each town in Massachusetts that came to our aid, flared the banner pertaining to its old glib name, with an appropriate anti-slavery device, expressive of its continuance in the same free principles that guarded and graced its ancestral history.

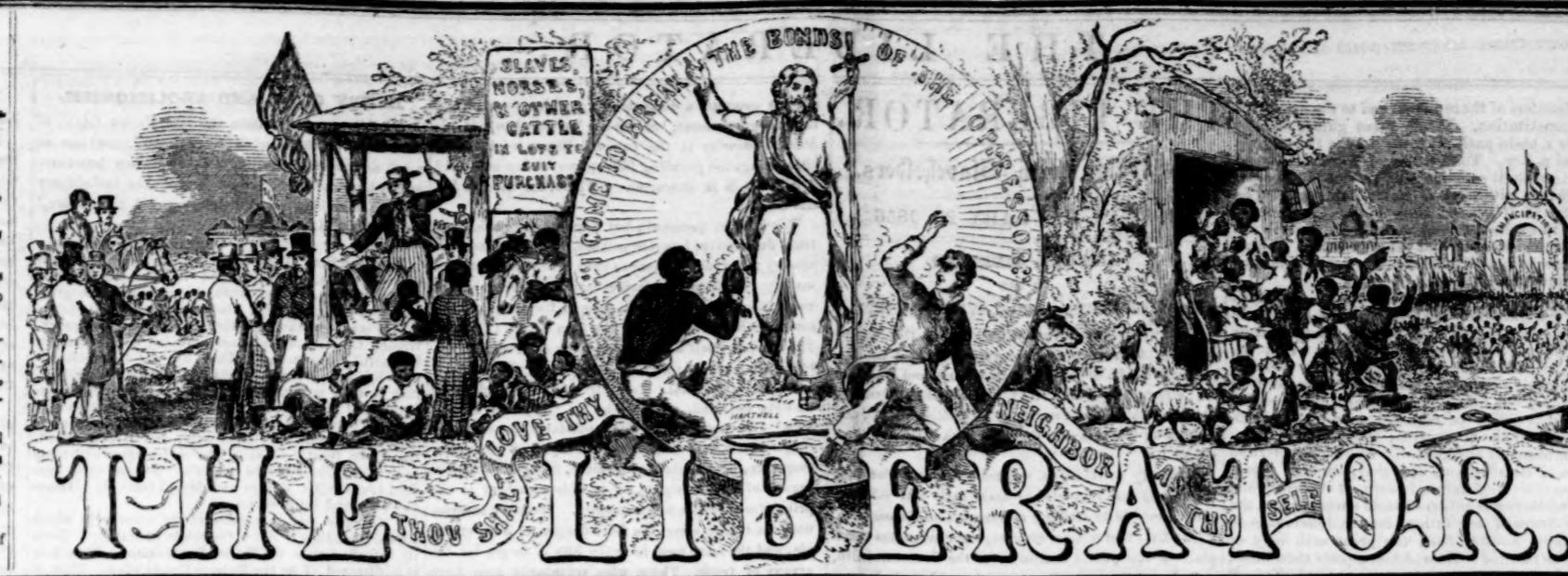
To our beloved and honored friends, the Webs, Almens, Haughtons and Edmundsons of Dublin—the Wighams of Edinburgh—the Patons of Glasgow—the Armiteads, Baines and Luptons of Leeds—Mesdames Reid, Masie and Sturch of London—Miss Estlin and friends of Bristol—Miss Whittlesey and Friends and friends of Birmingham—I am too poor, disappointed in several small enterprises, overtaken by a complaint of the eyes, and compelled to learn a new trade for making my living. I became so destitute of all means of subsistence, that I am not now able to give anything but my sincere wishes for success in your humane endeavors.

I know that in this country of practice, good wishes and congratulations, coming from poor people, may be considered worthless, but as I recognize the anti-slavery cause, as the most important and the most just cause of the century, I have no objection to express my feelings and wishes for success again; and if fortune should smile on me once more, surely, I shall not be the last to support the cause according to my means.

Madam, your humble servant, A. J. W.

While dwelling for a moment on the exquisite taste and great value of the gifts from France, (which, in common with all the others, shall be more particularly and fitly acknowledged to each individual donor when the time and occasion serve,) one, which I received through the lamented Madame Isidore Greffrey St. Hilaire, merits peculiar gratitude. It is a complete trousseau for an infant, without name or inscription; but which, in all its little component parts, tells more plainly than words could do, that the bereaved heart of some pious mother found relief in sending the little garments, no longer needed in her own home, to be given to some slave mother, a fugitive from her own birth-place, that she may be born in a free land. I showed to Mrs. Snow, who was often present with us on this occasion, this affecting proof of her influence; and I pledge myself to that maternal heart in France, that its pious intention shall be fulfilled.

Such a slave mother came into the hall while we were engaged in raising funds to abolish the system



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U.S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

'YES! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to SECURE THE PERPETUALITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the law of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—John Quincy Adams.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, PRINTERS.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1856.

WHOLE NUMBER 1125.

L. L. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

W. H. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

Extract from the recent message of Gov. Chase to the Legislature of Ohio:-

The terms of the Missouri Compromise were these: That Missouri should be admitted with slavery; that slavery should be forever prohibited in the territory acquired from France, north of 36 degrees 30 minutes, except Missouri; and that Congress should refrain, for the present at least, from legislative prohibition of slavery south of 36 degrees 30 minutes. This last term was only implied: it was not expressed.

This compromise, in substance and effect, was a compact between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding sections of the country, and was universally so regarded. It yielded to slavery absolutely the territory occupied by Missouri, and it left within the protection of private rights all the section of territory south of the French treaty south of 36 deg. 30 min. As the original policy of the country, and the true principles of the Constitution, required the exclusion of slavery from the whole of this territory, it was to be expected that this adjustment would be received with much dissatisfaction in the free States. It was so received; but, after a time, for the sake of peace, and in the full belief that its stipulations, in respect to the territory north of 36 deg. 30 min., would be faithfully observed, the people generally acquiesced in it.

Concession invites aggression. Having succeeded in establishing slavery in Missouri, the Slave Power soon insisted upon the implied term of the compromise as a positive stipulation for the allowance of slavery south of 36 degrees, 30 minutes; not only in the territory acquired from France, but in all other territory, whenever and however acquired, in which slavery might exist at the time of acquisition. This interpretation was tacitly admitted; and under the compromise, thus interpreted, Arkansas, Texas and Florida, came into the Union as slave States, and the small remainder of the territory south of 36 degrees 30 minutes, was allotted to slaveholding Indian tribes.

All the territory south of the Missouri line, which acquired before or after the date of the Compromise, was thus incorporated into slave States, or otherwise appropriated to slavery under the slaveholding interpretation of the compact. Nothing was left to freedom or settlement by non-slaveholding freemen, except the territory north of the Missouri line. The freedom of this territory, it was thought, was firmly secured. Guaranteed by the Constitution, protected by original policy, guarded by a compact, in the fulfillment of which so much had been yielded that it seemed impossible for slavery itself to ask more, the people of the free States never dreamed that it could be invaded or endangered. But this anticipation proved illusory. When the time arrived for the organization of government for this territory with view to open it for settlement and cultivation, the country was astounded by the demand of the Slave Power for the abrogation of the Missouri prohibition.

At first the demand was heard with incredulous amazement, and then with unavailing indignation. It availed nothing to appeal to plighted faith; nothing to appeal to ancient policy, or constitutional right. The great dominant power of slavery demanded the sacrifice of freedom, and the oblation must be made. The Missouri Prohibition was repealed; the Compromise of 1820, performed to the letter, and far beyond the letter, by the free states, was broken up and destroyed by the slave states to avoid the fulfillment of its only stipulation of freedom.

The pretences under which this wrong was perpetrated, give additional keenness to the sense of injury.

It was boldly asserted that the prohibition was unconstitutional. The power to prohibit territorial slavery had been exercised by the first Congress under the Constitution in the act providing for continuing in full effect the ordinance of 1787. The Constitution, in express terms, had conferred on Congress the power to make all needful rules and regulations concerning the territory of the United States. This provision had been uniformly regarded as authorizing all necessary territorial legislation. Almost every Congress had exercised the power, and almost every President had approved its exercise. The very persons who denied the power to prohibit slavery, asserted the power to establish territorial governments and to define their departments and powers, and therefore, in denying the power of prohibition, were reduced to the necessity of denying that the greater includes the less.

Under these circumstances, after the prohibition had remained unquestioned for more than the third of a century, the denial of its constitutionality rather provoked indignation than excited doubt.

It was also, asserted, that the doctrine of popular sovereignty required the repeal of the prohibition. This was a mere abuse of terms. The true idea of popular sovereignty demands, as a primary essential condition, the recognition of inalienable personal rights. There can be no genuine popular sovereignty where a portion of the population is enslaved. The prohibition of slavery is therefore the necessary correlate to the recognition of popular sovereignty, nothing but the right of a portion of the community to enslave the rest. It begins by the denial of the natural rights of man. It must end in the total subversion of the fundamental principle of American institutions. For a few and independent people, it would substitute a community of masters, dependents and slaves.

Such is the repulsive theory. In practical operation it has not proved more attractive. As embodied in the Nebraska-Kansas bill, it has been fruitful of nothing but evil. It has not conferred a single substantial benefit upon the settlers of either territory. In no respects are they distinguished from the settlers of Minnesota, where slavery is prohibited, except by exposure to its evils. The sole special effect of the Nebraska-Kansas act upon the territories organized under it, is to open them to the introduction of slaves. In one of them it has led to desperate attempts to effect that object—to invasion, usurpation, violence, bloodshed—almost to civil war. Crimes like these are not the legitimate fruits of that doctrine of popular sovereignty, to the maintenance of which our fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their honor.

The truth is, Franklin Pierce is morally as guilty in respect to all the outrages committed in Kansas, as are Atchison and Stringfield. But for the knowledge that the ‘federal executive’ would not interfere to thwart and punish them, not one of the outrages with which that territory has been filled, would ever have occurred. A single earnest word from the ‘federal executive’ would have made them shun Kansas as they would shun the hellfire they so well deserve. No word has been spoken.

On the contrary, the acts of the ‘federal executive,’ which speak louder than words, have told them to go on, repeating their outrages—to stop short of no murderous deed necessary to expel Liberty and plant Slavery in that covenant ‘house of the free.’

What but a proclamation to this effect was the removal of Governor Reeder, and the appointment of Shannon, the miserable doughty in all the North? What else was to be understood by the removal of Judge Johnson, the only other Free State man appointed? What else meant the retention in office of S. H. Woodson, as Secretary of the territory—a man who was implicated in the election frauds, and whose whole conduct has shown him capable of committing any crime necessary to the establishment of Slavery in Kansas? What meant the accumulation of every official office in the hands of the ‘ruffians’ and their abettors? It meant that slavery was to be established there at all hazards, and by any means within the power of violence, ruffianism and fraud; and that the ‘federal executive’ would take care that they were not molested in their hellish work.

No occasion for ‘the interposition of the federal executive?’ Of course not. The ‘federal executive’ authorities are the head plotters and conspirators in the most atrocious scheme of blood known in modern history. Nor is Franklin Pierce the least guilty of these conspirators. On his skirts, today, rests the blood of the men murdered by those bands in the employ of his tools. Before God and his country, he is the head and front of that conspiracy which was intended, in the language of the ‘ruffians,’ to ‘wipe out’ Lawrence, and leave it as the grave of its brave defenders.

Thanks to the gallant men and heroic women of that doomed city, the conspirators were overawed and the conspiracy failed. Lawrence still exists, and is still inhabited by freemen, and is not yet enslaved.—*Concord, N. H. Democrat.*

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JANUARY 25, 1856.

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Boston, at WILLIAMS HALL, corner Dover and Washington streets, on THURSDAY AND FRIDAY, January 24th and 25th—commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing its sessions through each day and evening.

Auxiliary associations, and members and friends to the Society, are requested to make early and sure arrangements to be strongly represented on the day.

The fact that a most encouraging change has taken place in the public sentiment of the Commonwealth, and also of the entire North, on the subject of slavery, instead of inducing a state of repose or a lack of vigilance, should stimulate to greater activity and more determined effort for the utter overthrow of that foul and hideous system, which is the curse and shame of the country, full of danger and wo, and ‘the sum of all villainies.’

A more glorious struggle the world has never witnessed. Its successful termination, now kept in thrall by the unparalleled hypocrisy and base avarice of this pseudo ‘model republic.’ Once more, then, to the onset, with a self-sacrificing spirit and heroic determination which shall laugh to scorn all the threats and machinations of the Slave Power! We cannot be defeated.

EDWARD WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, CHARLES LEXON REMOND, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, ANDREW T. FOSS, WM. B. BROWN, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, REV. D. A. WASSON.

The meetings will be held in WILLIAMS HALL, at the corner of Washington and Dover Streets, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing through each day and evening. At each even session, there will be an admission fee of 10 cents, to help defray the expenses.

In behalf of the Board of Managers,
FRANCIS JACKSON, President.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Secretary.

MAN-WORSHIP.

On Friday evening last, a private banquet, in commemoration of the birth of DANIEL WEBSTER, was given at the Revenue House in this city, at which there were present one hundred and seventy-six guests; Hon. Edward Everett presiding, and chief orator of the occasion. The proceedings, as reported in the Courier, occupy no less than ten columns. In point of glorification of the fallen Webster, they recall the incident related in the twelfth chapter of the Acts, when ‘Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne, and made an oration unto them. And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a God, and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost.’

MANY, intense and all-pervading, characterizes all that was said and done on that occasion. From beginning to end, there can be found no recognition of principle, no reverence for justice, no perception of true greatness, no moral discrimination, no appreciation of the spirit of freedom, which is ever in conflict, and ever progressive. All is blind, besotted, idolatrous.

Yet a key may perhaps be found for unlocking this mystery, in the heavy dose of daffy which Holmes administered to the poet who was to follow him, in the conclusion of his oration, and the known temptation of wit to its possessor to sacrifice anybody, himself not excepted, in any opportunity for showing it off. A humiliating characteristic of our poor human nature.

Altogether, the cause of the Pilgrims travelled in the wrong direction in the New York celebration of it this year. At Plymouth, the bona fide gloom of Sunday Breeches, taken off the laundry drying-line on wash-day, by a great gale, was this preacher for the Pilgrims here and now. As concerns any properties of the Pilgrim-stock or Pilgrim-interest, the boy might as well have been in the trowsers so taken off. It had not been a mere erratic wind than this that has blown him here, orator for this occasion—one of the most unaccountable of ‘a’ sirts the winds can blow.’ Enough to say the chief burden of this orator, brought to the occasion, was, opposition to the law for stopping liquor, and favor to the law for catching slaves. Mr. Pierpont followed this labor of love (for rum and slavery) in his opinion the previous night.

How this could be in Pierpont, is among the mysteries of weakness in strong men, and wrong in right men. Yet a key may perhaps be found for unlocking this mystery, in the heavy dose of daffy which Holmes administered to the poet who was to follow him, in the conclusion of his oration, and the known temptation of wit to its possessor to sacrifice anybody, himself not excepted, in any opportunity for showing it off. A humiliating

characteristic of our poor human nature.

Altogether, the cause of the Pilgrims travelled in the wrong direction in the New York celebration of it this year. At Plymouth, the bona fide gloom of Sunday Breeches, taken off the laundry drying-line on wash-day, by a great gale, was this preacher for the Pilgrims here and now. As concerns any properties of the Pilgrim-stock or Pilgrim-interest,

the boy might as well have been in the trowsers so taken off. It had not been a mere erratic wind than this that has blown him here, orator for this occasion—one of the most unaccountable of ‘a’ sirts the winds can blow.’

Enough to say the chief burden of this orator, brought to the occasion, was, opposition to the law for stopping liquor, and favor to the law for catching slaves. Mr. Pierpont followed this labor of love (for rum and slavery) in his opinion the previous night.

How this could be in Pierpont, is among the mysteries of weakness in strong men, and wrong in right men. Yet a key may perhaps be found for unlocking this mystery, in the heavy dose of daffy which Holmes administered to the poet who was to follow him, in the conclusion of his oration, and the known temptation of wit to its possessor to sacrifice anybody, himself not excepted, in any opportunity for showing it off. A humiliating

characteristic of our poor human nature.

Altogether, the cause of the Pilgrims travelled in the wrong direction in the New York celebration of it this year. At Plymouth, the bona fide gloom of Sunday Breeches, taken off the laundry drying-line on wash-day, by a great gale, was this preacher for the Pilgrims here and now. As concerns any properties of the Pilgrim-stock or Pilgrim-interest,

the boy might as well have been in the trowsers so taken off. It had not been a mere erratic wind than this that has blown him here, orator for this occasion—one of the most unaccountable of ‘a’ sirts the winds can blow.’

Enough to say the chief burden of this orator, brought to the occasion, was, opposition to the law for stopping liquor, and favor to the law for catching slaves. Mr. Pierpont followed this labor of love (for rum and slavery) in his opinion the previous night.

How this could be in Pierpont, is among the mysteries of weakness in strong men, and wrong in right men. Yet a key may perhaps be found for unlocking this mystery, in the heavy dose of daffy which Holmes administered to the poet who was to follow him, in the conclusion of his oration, and the known temptation of wit to its possessor to sacrifice anybody, himself not excepted, in any opportunity for showing it off. A humiliating

characteristic of our poor human nature.

Altogether, the cause of the Pilgrims travelled in the wrong direction in the New York celebration of it this year. At Plymouth, the bona fide gloom of Sunday Breeches, taken off the laundry drying-line on wash-day, by a great gale, was this preacher for the Pilgrims here and now. As concerns any properties of the Pilgrim-stock or Pilgrim-interest,

the boy might as well have been in the trowsers so taken off. It had not been a mere erratic wind than this that has blown him here, orator for this occasion—one of the most unaccountable of ‘a’ sirts the winds can blow.’

Enough to say the chief burden of this orator, brought to the occasion, was, opposition to the law for stopping liquor, and favor to the law for catching slaves. Mr. Pierpont followed this labor of love (for rum and slavery) in his opinion the previous night.

How this could be in Pierpont, is among the mysteries of weakness in strong men, and wrong in right men. Yet a key may perhaps be found for unlocking this mystery, in the heavy dose of daffy which Holmes administered to the poet who was to follow him, in the conclusion of his oration, and the known temptation of wit to its possessor to sacrifice anybody, himself not excepted, in any opportunity for showing it off. A humiliating

characteristic of our poor human nature.

Altogether, the cause of the Pilgrims travelled in the wrong direction in the New York celebration of it this year. At Plymouth, the bona fide gloom of Sunday Breeches, taken off the laundry drying-line on wash-day, by a great gale, was this preacher for the Pilgrims here and now. As concerns any properties of the Pilgrim-stock or Pilgrim-interest,

the boy might as well have been in the trowsers so taken off. It had not been a mere erratic wind than this that has blown him here, orator for this occasion—one of the most unaccountable of ‘a’ sirts the winds can blow.’

Enough to say the chief burden of this orator, brought to the occasion, was, opposition to the law for stopping liquor, and favor to the law for catching slaves. Mr. Pierpont followed this labor of love (for rum and slavery) in his opinion the previous night.

How this could be in Pierpont, is among the mysteries of weakness in strong men, and wrong in right men. Yet a key may perhaps be found for unlocking this mystery, in the heavy dose of daffy which Holmes administered to the poet who was to follow him, in the conclusion of his oration, and the known temptation of wit to its possessor to sacrifice anybody, himself not excepted, in any opportunity for showing it off. A humiliating

characteristic of our poor human nature.

Altogether, the cause of the Pilgrims travelled in the wrong direction in the New York celebration of it this year. At Plymouth, the bona fide gloom of Sunday Breeches, taken off the laundry drying-line on wash-day, by a great gale, was this preacher for the Pilgrims here and now. As concerns any properties of the Pilgrim-stock or Pilgrim-interest,

the boy might as well have been in the trowsers so taken off. It had not been a mere erratic wind than this that has blown him here, orator for this occasion—one of the most unaccountable of ‘a’ sirts the winds can blow.’

Enough to say the chief burden of this orator, brought to the occasion, was, opposition to the law for stopping liquor, and favor to the law for catching slaves. Mr. Pierpont followed this labor of love (for rum and slavery) in his opinion the previous night.

How this could be in Pierpont, is among the mysteries of weakness in strong men, and wrong in right men. Yet a key may perhaps be found for unlocking this mystery, in the heavy dose of daffy which Holmes administered to the poet who was to follow him, in the conclusion of his oration, and the known temptation of wit to its possessor to sacrifice anybody, himself not excepted, in any opportunity for showing it off. A humiliating

characteristic of our poor human nature.

Altogether, the cause of the Pilgrims travelled in the wrong direction in the New York celebration of it this year. At Plymouth, the bona fide gloom of Sunday Breeches, taken off the laundry drying-line on wash-day, by a great gale, was this preacher for the Pilgrims here and now. As concerns any properties of the Pilgrim-stock or Pilgrim-interest,

the boy might as well have been in the trowsers so taken off. It had not been a mere erratic wind than this that has blown him here, orator for this occasion—one of the most unaccountable of ‘a’ sirts the winds can blow.’

Enough to say the chief burden of this orator, brought to the occasion, was, opposition to the law for stopping liquor, and favor to the law for catching slaves. Mr. Pierpont followed this labor of love (for rum and slavery) in his opinion the previous night.

How this could be in Pierpont, is among the mysteries of weakness in strong men, and wrong in right men. Yet a key may perhaps be found for unlocking this mystery, in the heavy dose of daffy which Holmes administered to the poet who was to follow him, in the conclusion of his oration, and the known temptation of wit to its possessor to sacrifice anybody, himself not excepted, in any opportunity for showing it off. A humiliating

characteristic of our poor human nature.

Altogether, the cause of the Pilgrims travelled in the wrong direction in the New York celebration of it this year. At Plymouth, the bona fide gloom of Sunday Breeches, taken off the laundry drying-line on wash-day, by a great gale, was this preacher for the Pilgrims here and now. As concerns any properties of the Pilgrim-stock or Pilgrim-interest,

the boy might as well have been in the trowsers so taken off. It had not been a mere erratic wind than this that has blown him here, orator for this occasion—one of the most unaccountable of ‘a’ sirts the winds can blow.’

Enough to say the chief burden of this orator, brought to the occasion, was, opposition to the law for stopping liquor, and favor to the law for catching slaves. Mr. Pierpont followed this labor of love (for rum and slavery) in his opinion the previous night.

How this could be in Pierpont, is among the mysteries of weakness in strong men, and wrong in right men. Yet a key may perhaps be found for unlocking this mystery, in the heavy dose of daffy which Holmes administered to the poet who was to follow him, in the conclusion of his oration, and the known temptation of wit to its possessor to sacrifice anybody, himself not excepted, in any opportunity for showing it off. A humiliating

characteristic of our poor human nature.

Altogether, the cause of the Pilgrims travelled in the wrong direction in the New York celebration of it this year. At Plymouth, the bona fide gloom of Sunday Breeches, taken off the laundry drying-line on wash-day, by a great gale, was this preacher for the Pilgrims here and now. As concerns any properties of the Pilgrim-stock or Pilgrim-interest,

the boy might as well have been in the trowsers so taken off. It had not been a mere erratic wind than this that has blown him here, orator for this occasion—one of the most unaccountable of ‘a’ sirts the winds can blow.’

Enough to say the chief burden of this orator, brought to the occasion, was, opposition to the law for stopping liquor, and favor to the law for catching slaves. Mr. Pierpont followed this labor of love (for rum and slavery) in his opinion the previous night.

How this could be in Pierpont, is among the mysteries of weakness in strong men, and wrong in right men. Yet a key may perhaps be found for unlocking this mystery, in the heavy dose of daffy which Holmes administered to the poet who was to follow him, in the conclusion of his oration, and the known temptation of wit to its possessor to sacrifice anybody, himself not

LETTER FROM JOSEPH BARKER.
MUSCATINE, Iowa, Jan. 2, 1855.

DEAR FRIEND:

A Happy New Year to you and to yours, and a year of unparalleled success to the cause of truth, freedom, and humanity!

I write to say, that no change has taken place in me with regard to the anti-slavery cause. I still regard slavery as the greatest of calamities, and slaveholding and kidnapping as the greatest of crimes. I still regard freedom as the right of man, without regard to his color or condition; and I still feel called upon to do what I can to secure this right to man. Wherever I go, I make my voice, both in public and in private, against slavery; nor do I raise it in vain. In many cases, I have seen men's prejudices removed, and their views and feelings changed. The controversy between me and Mr. Foster was not on slavery,—on that we were agreed,—but on the question, ‘Whether political Abolitionists are the greatest obstacles to the anti-slavery cause?’ I did not think they were; I thought they gave great help to the anti-slavery cause. And as I thought, I spoke. I said nothing in favor of any compromise of principle; nothing in opposition to the most strict anti-slavery principles; nothing against the right of others to think differently from me on political action in the anti-slavery cause. The only position I intended to oppose was, that political Abolitionists are the greatest obstacles to the anti-slavery cause. I did not speak reluctantly, for I disliked the ideas of anti-slavery men disputing with each other. I like to see them spend their united forces in assailing the common enemy. But in this case, I had been pressed so long, and at last was pressed so hard, that I thought it right to meet the terrible charge, and I did so. But now I purpose my usual course, pleading the cause of the oppressed and plundered, and striving to enlighten and convert all who take sides with the oppressor.

I have no wish to renew this controversy about political Abolitionists, but I cannot refrain from saying, that to such men as Giddings and Sumner, and Chase and Hale, and all such men as think it right, or feel it necessary, to vote for them, with such men as Stephen A. Douglas and Henry A. Wise, is neither wise nor just. Still, if they really think that those who go to Congress for the purpose of overthrowing the power of the slaveholders, and those who vote to send them thither for that noble object, are as bad as those who go to Congress to uphold the power of the slaveholders, and who show themselves ready to perpetrate any crime for the accomplishment of their object, let them say so. They may make it difficult for political Abolitionists to work with them, but they will not, I trust, prevent us from doing what we can for freedom and humanity apart from them.

For myself, I wish to remain in connection and co-operation with you, so far as is practicable, and so far as is consistent with the interests of the Society of which you are the President. I have no desire for any office or agency in connection with the Society; but I wish to be understood by the members of the Society as one with them in hatred of slavery and in love of freedom, so that when we may have the opportunity of meeting together, we may feel as comfortable in each other's society, and work together as harmoniously for the common good, as possible.

I am now in Muscatine, Iowa, lecturing on the Bible, Let week, and the week before, I lectured in Davenport on the same subject, and on the first great French Revolution. Davenport is the largest town in Iowa, I suppose. It is beautifully situated. The view you obtain from the higher portions of the city of the Mississippi and its islands, of the city and towns on the opposite banks, and of the State of Illinois, is rich and beautiful almost beyond comparison. The roll and swell and flow of the majestic river are truly enchanting. But, best of all, many of the people are fervent to freedom. They hate slavery. They wish for its abolition. They are favorable to free inquiry, even on religious subjects. For four nights in succession, the court-house was crowded with people, while I indicated the most liberal views. Muscatine is a smaller town, on the same bank of the same great river, and it is more like a village.

Yours, affectionately,
JOSEPH BARKER.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

FUGITIVES! FUGITIVES!
LAWRENCE, K. T., Jan. 7, 1855.

DEAR SIR,—The following advertisement I clip from the *Saint Louis Democrat*, and hope you will publish it in your paper, to show the way such things are done out West:—

\$400 REWARD.

RAN AWAY from the subscriber, living near Lexington, Mo., four negro men, named Dan, Hal, Bill and Randall. Dan is aged about twenty-three years, dark skin, black hair, black eyes, black teeth, black and tall. Bill is aged twenty-eight years, mulatto, short and dark; Randall, aged about forty years, mulatto and short. I will give the above reward for all of them, or \$100 for each, if taken out of the State; or \$120 for all, or \$30 each, if taken in any country bordering on the Mississippi river; \$100 for all, or \$25 for each, if taken in any other county in the State, and delivered to me or secured in jail, so I can get them. Any information will be received by addressing me at Lexington, Mo., or St. Louis Post office, box 1578.

NATHAN CORDET.

I also subjoin the following valuable piece of information:—

EAT away from the Shawnee Mission, Kansas Territory, a nigger man, named Shannon; about six years of age; rather tall and stout; would be mistaken for a white man; will try to pass himself as such. Has light blue eyes and light hair; is in the habit of getting drunk, chews tobacco, generally wears fine clothes, black coat and pants, satin vest, and black hat. When last heard of, he was at the head of a large band of ruffians, who invaded this Territory with arms in their hands, which were stolen from the Arsenal at Liberty, Mo., and threatened the destruction of Lawrence and the murder of its inhabitants. They went about burning hay, driving off cattle, stopping persons with teams on the highway and robbing them of goods, kidnapping peaceful citizens, stealing corn and rifles, entering cabins, frightening the women and children, and various other depredations of a heinous character. This same gang of desperadoes murdered in cold blood one Thomas Barber, on the prairie, on the eve of the 6th of December last, and attacked, on the night of the 23d of the same month, a printing establishment at Leavenworth, destroyed the press by throwing it into the river, and scattered the type about the street; threatening the lives of several of the inhabitants, mobbing ballot-boxes, and preventing the citizens from voting. This gang have for a long time been a pest to this Territory, and the people should rally and break it up; and all good citizens of this country are hereby requested to lend their aid in the capture of my man Shannon, bring him to justice, or hedge him in jail where I can get him. For when the leader is taken, the gang will doubtless disband, and the people will then enjoy the blessings of peace. It is supposed that he is now lurking about Washington, D. C., where he has a great many confederates, or in Ohio, where he has a few friends.

Any information will be received by addressing me at Lawrence, Kansas Territory, Box 1776.

PETER FUNKS.

P. S. His principal confederate at Washington, D. C., is one Franklin Pierce.

CONVENTION AT SACRAMENTO.

Our friend JEREMIAH B. SANDERS writes from California to Wm. C. NEL, that the Convention of colored men there, of which we printed a report last week, was quite satisfactory. He says:—‘We have got among our young men here the right material for devising and carrying out plans for our general good. We anticipated opposition from the press, and this is apt to stir up the baser sort to indulge in some excess. Those papers, however, which spoke, did calmly, and encouragingly in regard to the objects of the Convention, (which was mainly to get the right of testimony in the courts,) and though we heard distant grumbling and dark threats, it passed off.

One of our city papers, (*Know-Nothing*), the *Daily Tribune*, liberally reported our proceedings from day to day. This did us good, and certainly did them good, as they were obliged to strike off many extra copies, to supply the very general demand. There has been a general desire here among the whites to know what we were doing—and that is what we want they should know.

In what we are trying to do, in order to get the right of testimony, very many of the best and most influential men of the State are with us—Southern as well as Northern. This right secured, and then the next thing will be something else,’ as we used to say.

The School Question still remains in *situs quo*, and is likely to be for the present. We have got an ordinance from the Common Council, through much tribulation, for a separate school. Here we are in the condition to take the half loaf; we have ‘Hobson’s choice.’ The only difficulty now is, ‘no money in the city treasury.’

We are glad to learn that Mr. Sampson has been appointed teacher of the Colored Public School in San Francisco—an excellent choice.

REFORMATORY SPIRIT ON THE CAPE.

HARWICH, Cape Cod, Jan. 20, 1855.

FROM KANSAS.

A telegraphic despatch gives intelligence of a bloody collision between the Free State and pro-slavery settlers of Kansas, which very probably may lead to a civil war in that territory. The recent declaration of ‘peace’ between the two parties was evidently but a hollow one on the part of the border ruffians. Of this we have evidence not only from the Free State men, but from the pen of Hon. David R. Atchison, an ex-Senator of the United States, and leader of the Missouri Conference, who has written to the *Atlanta (Geo.) Examiner*. The date of the first letter is not given, but in it Mr. Atchison says, ‘We are in a constant state of excitement here, (Platt's City.) Our persons and property are not for a moment safe; and yet we are forbid, by the respect we owe our friends elsewhere; by respect for the cause in which we are engaged, forbear. The state of things cannot last.’

They pray for the slave; for what is prayer but life? They live for the slave. An anti-slavery life is the only true prayer for the slave. This is the prayer that availeth much. You have lived a life of prayer for the slave, in the only true sense.

Friday and Saturday night I lectured on Worship.

The cause is this. Some weeks ago, there was a meeting of Orthodox ministers on the Cape; they got into a discussion on the Sabbath, and finally voted to call a two days' public Convention in this place, to have a full public discussion of the Sabbath question. They were to have held it in the Orthodox Church of which Mr. McCollum is pastor, on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 15th and 16th inst. The people about here had great hopes of good from it. The Convention met, but there was no discussion. On Tuesday evening, Rev. Mr. Dickinson, of Chatham, was appointed to preach a sermon on the subject. He did so, and gave the people an outline of Dr. Edwards' Sabbath Manual, urging them to consecrate that day to the worship of God. So I was requested to give my ideas of orthodoxy. I did so, aiming to show that those who were the most active and devoted Tocquevilleans, Abolitionists and Non-Resistants, are most acceptably worshipping the true God. To love and honor man is to love and honor God. Those who hate and despise man, hate and despise God. The Good Samaritan is the true worshippers, not the heartless, inhuman priest and deacon all who take sides with the oppressor.

D. R. A.

In a letter of Dec. 16th, Mr. Atchison holds the following language:

Kansas and Missouri have the same latitude, climate and soil, and should have the same institutions.

The peace and prosperity of both depend upon it.

Kansas must have slave institutions, or Missouri must have free institutions; hence the interest ‘border states’ have in each other.

The citizens of Kansas have gone there, or rather have been sent there, for the express purpose of abolitionizing, and ultimately Missouri. This has not heretofore been the case with the Territories of the United States. Iowa has abolitionists within her borders; so has Illinois: unprincipled abolitionists and negro-slaves; yet they are few in number. The great mass of the people in those States are honest and law-abiding men. Not so with the class of people above described in Kansas. Hundreds of them are here, or rather have been sent from the North and East, but for other purposes than to vote at the election, and return home. This was understood by the border Missourians, and they resolved to counteract it, and it was done.

The ‘border ruffians,’ I assert, and believe, have shown a more noble, Christian and forbearing spirit, than any other body of men would have shown under similar circumstances.

Battalions of men came from the North with the open and avowed purpose of excluding slaveholders from Kansas. Not only that, but they also came with the avowed purpose of annihilating the slaves, that to abolitionists Kansas was to drive slavery from Missouri. In this they were right. To do the one is to do the other. Under these circumstances, what does it become us to do? What we have done, has been done in self-defence. What shall we therefore do, time alone will show. We are preparing for the worst.

If the settlement of Kansas had been left to the laws which govern emigration, it would have been a slave Territory as certainly as Missouri is a slave State.

But inasmuch as those laws have been violated and perverted by a force of men, who have a marked political organization in the North and East, it became the South to act, and do, and to send in a population to counteract the North. This can be done with a little exertion. Thus far, a few counties in Western Missouri have successfully encountered and defeated this powerful organization. Let Georgia see the example!

What is done, should be done quickly! This course on the part of the South will save Kansas to the South, bloodless, civil war, and perhaps a dissolution of the Union itself.

Your obedient servant,

D. R. ATCHISON.

That the Free State men anticipated further trouble, we find evidence in a letter published in the *Evening Telegraph*. The letter is dated at Lawrence, January 4, and says:

It is reported that the Misourians are drilling, in the border towns, in preparation to invade our territory. It is expected that they will be here on the 4th of March next, to prevent the Legislature from assembling. Gov. Shannon has left the Territory. He will not engage in another war upon the people of Kansas.

The only hope the pro-slavery men now have of making Kansas a slave State, is that Georgia, Kentucky, Alabama, and other slaveholding States, will do what they have promised to do, viz., send thousands of emigrants, with their slaves, to this Territory next spring. It is to be hoped that the honorable General Quincy, who has gained some notorious popularity being engaged in the contemplated invasion of California, will make this a slave State, and to silence the abolitionists. Our pro-slavery friends take courage at this and many other reports of a similar character, of ‘tremendous’ emigration from the South next spring, and do all they can to create the impression down South, that slave property will be perfectly safe in this Territory.

What is done, should be done quickly! This course on the part of the South will save Kansas to the South, bloodless, civil war, and perhaps a dissolution of the Union itself.

J. B.

After the outrages, the School Committee compelled Mr. Brady to resign his place, and it was with some difficulty that he left the city without being mobbed.

Mr. PEARSON'S LETTER.

The other day we copied from a correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*, (says the *Telegraph*), the account of a letter written by John H. Moore, Esq., of this city, to a Mr. Brown, of Key West. It seems that Brown supported two colored men, picked up at sea by the ship *Middlesex*, of being his ‘chattels,’ and wrote to ask Mr. Pearson to serve him as a slave-catcher. The account of Mr. Pearson's reply which we copied from the *Evening Post* appeared to him to intimate that he had used profane language in his letter, ‘Only \$125 is bid for this boy,’ ‘a fine, likely nigger going for \$125,’ ‘must be sold to the highest bidder,’ ‘it disgusts and shocked me beyond measure.’ It was almost enough to make one ashamed that he belonged to a race of beings that could so prey upon their species.

What a contrast was this scene, almost at the door of the church, to what we had just heard so favorable an account of! If this scene was thought to be

in accordance with the Christian character, and the minister had such scenes in view when speaking in such high terms of the community, (as he must have done,) it was a sad reflection on the character of such an event as this.

That the violation of the *Emancipation Act* of 1863 had been so recently made known to the world, it was natural to suppose that it would be soon remedied.

Mr. Brown's daughter will accompany him, and speak in some of the above places.

WM. WELLS BROWN, an Agent of the Mass-

achusetts A. S. Society, will hold meetings as follows:

Southboro', Centre, Sunday, Jan. 27.

Northboro', Monday, " " 28.

Shrewsbury, Wednesday, " " 30.

Westboro', Friday, Feb. 1.

Worcester, Sunday, " " 3.

Clinton, Tuesday, " " 5.

Oxford, Wednesday, " " 6.

Wellesley, Thursday, " " 7.

Milford, Sunday, " " 10.

Mr. Brown's daughter will accompany him, and speak in some of the above places.

C. C. BURLEIGH, an Agent of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:

Portsmouth, N. H., Saturday eve'g, Jan. 26.

" Sunday " " 27.

Manchester, Ms., Tuesday " " 29.

Gloucester, Wednesday " " 30.

Essex, Thursday, " " 31.

Worcester, Saturday " " Sun., Feb. 2 & 3.

In behalf of the Society, LEWIS FORD.

ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings as follows:

Portsmouth, N. H., Saturday eve'g, Jan. 26.

" Sunday " " 27.

Manchester, Ms., Tuesday " " 29.

Gloster, Wednesday " " 30.

Essex, Thursday, " " 31.

Worcester, Saturday " " Sun., Feb. 2 & 3.

MISS SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass-

achusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture at WESTERLY, and other towns in Rhode Island, the two coming weeks.

C. C. BURLEIGH, an Agent of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:

The Annual Meeting of the Worcester County South Division Anti-Slavery Society will be held at WORCESTER, in Horticultural Hall, commencing Saturday evening, Feb. 23, at 7 o'clock, P. M., and continuing on Sunday, Feb. 3, through the afternoon and evening.

ANDREW T. FOSS, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, WM. W.

Brown and daughter, and other speakers are expected.

Officers for the ensuing year are to be chosen, and a general attendance of members is requested.

EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, President.

JOHN H. CRANE, Sec'y.

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

POETICAL REMINISCENCE.

Extract of a Letter, written by a Student of Harvard, to his Uncle in the Old Colony.

CAMBRIDGE, March 7, 1833.

DEAR UNCLE:

The pleasure I felt at receiving your letter, I cannot describe—you can picture it better. I was fearful before, that because out of sight, My old Plymouth friends had forgotten me quite—Or, at least, from my irksome society free, Cared little or sought what might happen to me. But now I rejoice, for the dark spell is broken! Your letter has come, of remembrance a token—And shall I neglect to repay you your due? O no! so I'll sit down, and write one to you.

To obtain a supply of "all evil the root," I've been trying to "teach young ideas to shoot"—A "task most delightful," if Cowper you'll trust; But, I think, had he tried it, he'd found it the worst. Experience, methinks, will abundantly show it—The thought must have sprung from the brain of a poet.

* * * * *

The reviews and the papers, all over the nation, Seem to care about nothing save nullification; But, I hope they will stop the discussion ere long. For I'm tired of this dull and monotonous song. Our people, they say—"tis surely a fact—Can talk very well, but are backward to act. And every old-hopper will yawn and debate, With a grave-digger's face, about matters of state; Each will ever be eager to catch all the news, Though he knows not the odds 'twixt his Ps and his Qs.

For my part, I cannot but think Mr. Clay, Like the rest of his species, has lived out his day—And the "Star of the West," since its zenith is past. Like other bright stars, will decline very fast.

That hair-brained, unthinking and fiery Calhoun, Seems to me very like the man in the moon—

Or, perhaps, rather more like the man from the South, Who, in eating cold porridge, has scalded his mouth.

But, where is great Webster, of law the dictator? In answer, dear uncle, consult the Spectator—

A fable you'll find of an ass, who, all day, Stood nearly half-starved, 'twixt two bundles of hay, Till, sadly in doubt as to which was most sweet, He died without daring of either to eat.

Mr. Wirt from the contest stands wisely aloof; Of his talents and worth a remarkable proof!

And, having gone through with the whole disposure, Seems going to sleep to the tune "Anti-Mason."

Oar resold old friend, the brave Andrew Jackson,

In spite of all clamor, will still keep the tax on—

To be taken with chaff, he's too crafty a fowl;

Not 'torn in the woods, to be scared of an owl.'

The Southerners seem very serious for right, Declaring, if need be, they're ready to fight; But, yet, though this mania spread wider and wider, 'Twill be plenty of brag, without any elder.'

Instead of one paper, you now number four—

Seems to me, 'twere well to start two or three more.

A Working-Man's paper is needed, no doubt,

To tell all the world what the tribe are about;

And, if he had nothing to do but to write,

Why, then, for his rights one could manfully fight.

"To provoke me to write" was your purpose, you say,

"And a letter would be for your pains ample pay":

I could not so easily a settlement lose,

And, therefore, I spurned up my sauntering muse,

Implored that you will forgive me the crime

Of returning, for prose, so much musical rhyme.

For the Liberator.

AN INVOCATION.

O, Love! descend, and with celestial fire Dissolve my iciness of soul! Dispel, With thy supernal light, the clouds which hang, Like phantoms terrible, above my soul. Within its foul and murky blackness earth Hath me ensnared, and no ray divine From thy far-distant sun peers through the gloom, To chase its darkness or its frozen air. Let not those horrid sisters twin, Grim Night And Dreary Winter, reign in me for ay! Thee I invoke, spirit of Light divine! Drive on the fell usurpers, and thy throne Establish, and o'er all my soul do thou Sway thy benignant sceptre!

Reign thou there

Empress supre me! With undivided rule Subject all thoughts, affections, sentiments, Emotions, aspirations, to thyself!

Oh! I would be thy child, and like to thee!

Would lean on thee as trustingly as sleeps Upon its mother's breast th' unconscious babe.

Yes! in thy being's boundless ocean, I Would plunge, and lose myself, and be no more!

Paterson, N. J.

A. G. C.

THE NEW EXODUS.*

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

By fire and cloud, across the desert sand, And through the parted waves, From their long bondage, with an outstretched hand, God led the Hebrew slaves!

Dead as the letter of the Pentateuch,

As Egypt's statutes cold,

In the adytum of the sacred book Now stands that marvel old.

* Oh! God is great! the simple Moslem says;

We seek the ancient date,

Turn the dry scroll, and make that living phrase A dead one: God was great!

And, like the Coptic monks by Moussa's wells,

We dream of wondrous past,

Vague as the tales the wandering Arab tells,

Each drowsier than the last.

O, fools and blind! Above the Pyramids Stretches one more that hand,

And traced Egypt, from her stony lids,

Fling back her veil of sand.

And morning-smitten Memnon, singing, wakes,

And, listening by his Nile,

O'er Annon's grave and awful visage breaks A sweet and human smile.

Not, as before, with hall, and fire, and call Of death for midnight graves,

But in the stillness of the noonday, fall The fitters of the slaves.

No longer through the Red Sea, as of old, The bondmen walk dry shod;

Through human hearts, by love of Him controlled, Runs now that path of God!

* One of the latest and most interesting items of Eastern news is the statement that slavery has been formally and totally abolished in Egypt.

THE WINTER'S MORN.

Artist unseen! that, dip in frozen dew,

Hast on the glittering glass thy pencil laid,

Ere from you sun the transient visions fade,

Swift let me trace the forms thy fancy drew!

They towers and palaces of diamond hue,

Rivers and lakes of liquid crystal made,

And hung in air like trees of branching shade,

That liquid pearl distil; thy scenes renew,

Whate'er old bards of later fictions feign,

Of secret grottoes underneath the wave,

Where herds roof with spar the amber cave;

Or bows of biles, where sport the fairy train,

Who, frequent by the moonlight wandered seen,

Circle with radiant gems the dewy green.

SELECTIONS.

MR. BANKS'S ANSWER.

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Jan. 12.

Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts—in reply to sum-
mary interrogatories propounded to him by Mr. Zol-
licoffer, of Tennessee—rose and said:—

Mr. Clerk, I voted for the resolution presented by the honorable gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Zollicoffer], yesterday, with pleasure. It embodies a principle which I think sound. As under-
stood by me, when reported at the Clerk's desk, it was nothing more or less than this: that any gentleman who votes for a candidate for any office ought to know the opinions of that candidate. I recognize the right of every gentleman in this House, who has been voting for Speaker during this protracted contest, to ascertain the opinions of any man for whom he casts his vote. Sir, I should claim it as my right to know the opinions of my candidate to such an extent as should be satisfactory, to myself, at least.

But, Sir, as a member of the House, I have other rights. I offer myself as a candidate for no office; I solicit no man's suffrage; and I am not, therefore, called upon as a candidate to solve such difficulties as gentlemen supporting other persons may find in the existing condition of public affairs.

Those who have honored me by their confidence and votes are themselves responsible for the course they have chosen, and I doubt not, they are able to meet that responsibility. It is not for me to provide for their defense. I can only say, as Othello said of his wife, they 'had eyes, and chose me.'

I have convictions—convictions of duty, con-
victions of principle—upon the great matters in
which the country is interested; and, as a member of
the House, representing a District in the Com-
monwealth of Massachusetts, I have no hesitation in
responding to any of the inquiries propounded by
the honorable gentleman from Tennessee to the House.

Are you now a member of the American or Know-
Nothing party?

Are you in favor of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, the United States fort, dock yards, &c. &c.

Do you believe in the equality of the white and black
races in the United States; and do you wish to promote that equality by legislation?

Are you in favor of the entire exclusion of adopted
citizens and Roman Catholics from office?

Do you favor the same modification—and this question I intend particularly for the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Banks)—of the tariff now, which you did at the last session of Congress?

The Clerk read as follows:

"Am I right in supposing that the gentleman from Illinois regards the Kansas-Nebraska bill as promotive of the formation of Free States in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska?"

It will be understood, of course, that the phraseology of this inquiry applies rather to the gentleman from Illinois, (Mr. Richardson,) than to myself. I answer, distinctly, that I do not regard the Kansas-Nebraska bill as promotive of the formation of Free States in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

In regard to my position as connected with the
Territories of the country, I wish to make my state-
ment in my own way, inasmuch as it is a matter
which particularly concerns myself. I will state the
facts, and the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Berk-
sdale) and other gentlemen may draw their own inferences. What they may be, is not for me to say. When I was elected to this House as a Member from the State of Massachusetts, I was elected on the nomination of the regular Democratic party, and of the American party of that district. The American party was very largely in the majority. I avowed my sentiments freely and fully on the
issues presented by that party, before there was any
special cause for me to do so, and before it had
attracted the attention of the country: and as an
answer to the fourth interrogatory put to me by the
gentleman from Mississippi, after it had been submitted to the gentleman from Illinois, I have
only to say that, in the speech which I delivered to this body during the last Congress, I expressed,
freely and fully, all my opinions on the subject.
The record is there, and to it I refer the gentleman for information. Let the record speak. I have
adopted the maxim of Junius, that it is an un-
necessary waste of time for a man to spend any con-
siderable portion of his life in commentaries on his
own works (laughter).

I come now to speak to the interrogatory in
reference to the equality of the white and black
races. I have to say, in this matter, that I accept the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence,
that all men are created equal. To regard the
equality of races is an act which embodies the
prohibition known as the Wilmette or Jefferson
Proviso. In regard to the measures of 1850, I can
only say that, being called upon here or elsewhere,
I should have voted for the prohibition by capacity
of the individual. So far I have decided only by capacity
of the individual. It seems to me to be the universal law that
the weaker is always absorbed, and disappears in the
stronger race. Whether the black race of this
continent, or any other part of the world, is equal
to the white race, can only be determined by the
absorption and disappearance of one or the other;
and I propose to wait until the respective races
can be properly subjected to this philosophical test,
before I give it a decisive answer (laughter).

Mr. BANCES—I could give a general answer in the affirmative to that interrogatory. I believe in the
constitutionality of that act which is known as the Wilmette Proviso. I believe that it is within the power of Congress to prohibit the institution of slavery in a Territory belonging to the United States. Whether I would advocate the passage of such an act in regard to a Territory where it was clearly unnecessary, where,
by local, pre-existing laws, it had been prohibited; or, in other words, whether I would advocate a
double inhibition, I have only to say, that if a
doubt existed as to its exclusion by valid municipal
law, I should sustain an act which embodied the
prohibition known as the Wilmette or Jefferson
Proviso.

In regard to the measures of 1850, I can only say
that it is but determined only by capacity of the
individual. So far I have decided only by capacity
of the individual. It seems to me to be the universal law that
the weaker is always absorbed, and disappears in the
stronger race. Whether the black race of this
continent, or any other part of the world, is equal
to the white race, can only be determined by the
absorption and disappearance of one or the other;
and I propose to wait until the respective races
can be properly subjected to this philosophical test,
before I give it a decisive answer (laughter).

Mr. BANCES—I do not believe that the Constitu-
tion of the United States carries the institution of
slavery to the Territories of the United States. My
understanding is based on the declaration of Mr.
Webster, that even the Constitution of the United
States itself does not go to the Territories until it
is carried there by an act of Congress.

The Territorial question of this day refers to the
Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. I leave the
Territories which are to come hereafter to the
North, and to the Territories which are to come here-
after; but I say, at the same time, that I am in
favor of the prohibition of slavery in Kansas and
Nebraska. Then, in regard to the first clause of the
interrogatory—Are you in favor of restoring the
Missouri restriction? I have to say, that I desire
to restore the Missouri restriction, but I am not
in favor of it, because it is held determined only by capacity
of the individual. So far I have decided only by capacity
of the individual. It seems to me to be the universal law that
the weaker is always absorbed, and disappears in the
stronger race. Whether the black race of this
continent, or any other part of the world, is equal
to the white race, can only be determined by the
absorption and disappearance of one or the other;
and I propose to wait until the respective races
can be properly subjected to this philosophical test,
before I give it a decisive answer (laughter).

Mr. BANCES—I do not believe that the Constitu-
tion of the United States carries the institution of
slavery to the Territories of the United States. My
understanding is based on the declaration of Mr.
Webster, that even the Constitution of the United
States itself does not go to the Territories until it
is carried there by an act of Congress.

The Territorial question of this day refers to the
Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. I leave the
Territories which are to come hereafter to the
North, and to the Territories which are to come here-
after; but I say, at the same time, that I am in
favor of the prohibition of slavery in Kansas and
Nebraska. Then, in regard to the first clause of the
interrogatory—Are you in favor of restoring the
Missouri restriction? I have to say, that I desire
to restore the Missouri restriction, but I am not
in favor of it, because it is held determined only by capacity
of the individual. So far I have decided only by capacity
of the individual. It seems to me to be the universal law that
the weaker is always absorbed, and disappears in the
stronger race. Whether the black race of this
continent, or any other part of the world, is equal
to the white race, can only be determined by the
absorption and disappearance of one or the other;
and I propose to wait until the respective races
can be properly subjected to this philosophical test,
before I give it a decisive answer (laughter).

Mr. BANCES—I do not believe that the Constitu-
tion of the United States carries the institution of
slavery to the Territories of the United States. My
understanding is based on the declaration of Mr.
Webster, that even the Constitution of the United
States itself does not go to the Territories until it
is carried there by an act of Congress.

The Territorial question of this day refers to the
Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. I leave the
Territories which are to come hereafter to the
North, and to the Territories which are to come here-
after; but I say, at the same time, that I am in
favor of the prohibition of slavery in Kansas and
Nebraska. Then, in regard to the first clause of the
interrogatory—Are you in favor of restoring the
Missouri restriction? I have to say, that I desire
to restore the Missouri restriction, but I am not
in favor of it, because it is held determined only by capacity
of the individual. So far I have decided only by capacity
of the individual. It seems to me to be the universal law that
the weaker is always absorbed, and disappears in the
stronger race. Whether the black race of this
continent, or any other part of the world, is equal
to the white race, can only be determined by the
absorption and disappearance of one or the other;
and I propose to wait until the respective races
can be properly subjected to this philosophical test,
before I give it a decisive answer (laughter).

Mr. BANCES—I do not believe that the Constitu-
tion of the United States carries the institution of
slavery to the Territories of the United States. My
understanding is